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THE
BRITISH AND DUTCH
IN
SOUTH AFRICA

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE TRINITY CLUB OF TRINITY CHURCH, AND THE
DORCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND THE VICTORIAN
CLUB OF BOSTON

BY

JAMES H. STARK

BEING A COLLECTION OF FACTS OBTAINED FROM THE MOST
AUTHENTIC SOURCES, GIVING A TRUE ACCOUNT OF
WHAT CAUSED THE PRESENT WAR IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND WHAT ITS EFFECT WILL
BE ON THE FUTURE OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

PRICE FIVE CENTS

English East India
refreshment.

ISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE VICTORIAN CLUB BY

In 1602 a chartered
India Company. The
surprising successes over

JAMES H. STARK

31 MILK STREET
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1900

INTRODUCTORY.

It was my good fortune to visit Holland and England during the months of September and October, at the time of the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa. As this was the principal topic under discussion at that time, I had an excellent opportunity of hearing both sides of the question. On my return to Boston I was requested by several societies to give them my views or opinions concerning the rights of the questions involved in the terrible drama now being enacted in South Africa.

I was surprised to learn how little was known concerning the real merits of the case. The sympathy of many swayed towards the Boer side, on account of an ancient prejudice resulting from the Revolutionary war, they taking it for granted that England intended to oppress the Boer who was fighting for the freedom of his country.

Another class, which is represented by the Fenian element, in its blind and unreasonable hatred of England, attempted to influence public opinion against Great Britain by false and malicious statements. To this class I would recommend the reading of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kimberley's letter contained in this pamphlet. A large majority of the intelligent and educated classes were in favor of England, but even here there were exceptions, such as Senator Hoar, Edwin Mead, and that old-time champion of the negro, Col. T. W. Higginson. In addition to the information I obtained abroad I am also indebted to writers who have made a study of this question, such as Alleyne Ireland, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Hillegas, and to several able editorials in the "Boston Herald." At the time of writing this paper I had no thought of publishing it, but at the special request of the Victorian Club of Boston I have issued it in pamphlet form for the purpose of enlightening the public on this momentous question.

JAMES H. STARK

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THE BRITISH AND DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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Jan. 29. 1900. ———

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese.

In 1486 — six years before Columbus discovered America — two little vessels under command of Bartholomew Dias sailed from Portugal with the same object in view — to discover a new ocean road to India. Pushing his way down the west coast of Africa, Dias passed onward beyond the farthest point previously known and reached a bold headland which he called the Cape of Storms, but which was renamed by King John the Second the Cape of “Good Hope.” Ten years later Vasco da Gama, with four small vessels, again visited the coast. On the 20th of November, 1497, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Keeping within sight of the shore, on the 25th of December Da Gama passed by a beautiful land to which he gave the name Natal, in memory of the day when Christian men first saw it. On the 6th of January the fleet reached Delagoa Bay, where the Portuguese landed and traded with the natives.

Sailing again, Da Gama next touched at Quilimane, where he found people that had dealings with the Arabs, and thence he continued his voyage to India. The highway to the East being now open, every year fleets sailed to and from Portugal. In a short time the Indian seas fell entirely under Portuguese dominion, and an immense trade was opened up. After a long interval English, Dutch, and French ships followed the Portuguese to India. In 1591, the English flag was seen at the Cape for the first time. Three ships — the pioneers of the vast fleets that have since followed the same course, then put into Table Bay, on their way to India. Their crews were suffering from the scurvy. Here they obtained good refreshments, for, in addition to wild fowl, shell-fish, and plants of various kinds, they bartered for some oxen and sheep with the Hottentots. For many years after the English East India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment.

In 1602 a charter was issued at the Hague to the Dutch East India Company. The fleets sent out by this Company gained surprising successes over the Portuguese, in India, and the profits

made by this Company during the early years of its existence were enormous. The Portuguese ships, factories, and possessions of all kinds in India were fair prize of war, and the most valuable were shortly in the hands of the Dutch. Its fleets usually put into Table Bay for the purpose of taking in fresh water, giving the crews a run on land, catching fish, and getting the latest intelligence from the places to where they were bound. Letters were buried on shore, and notices of the places where they were deposited were marked on conspicuous stones.

Settled by the Dutch.

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Six months was considered a quick passage between Holland and Batavia, and it was no uncommon thing for one-third of the crew to have perished and another third to be helpless with scurvy when the ships arrived there. Table Bay was regarded as two-thirds of the distance from Amsterdam to Batavia, and the Company thought that by establishing a settlement on its shores many lives could be saved and much suffering be avoided. It was not their intention to found a colony, but merely to make a large garden and raise vegetables for the supply of the fleet and to barter oxen and sheep from the Hottentots and to build a great hospital in which sick men could be left to recover their health.

In April, 1652, Jan Van Riebeeck and a party of about 150 were landed at Table Bay, and in this manner South Africa became settled by the Dutch.

In 1658 the great mistake of introducing negro slaves was made — a mistake from which the country has suffered much, and is the first and principal cause of the present trouble. There was no necessity for the introduction of slavery, for the climate for nine months in the year is to Europeans the pleasantest in the world, and white men can work in the open air without discomfort.

A few years later many permanent colonists came out from Holland. The Company also sent out many young women from the orphan asylum in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, who were carefully protected and provided for until they found husbands in the colony. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove many thousands of Protestant refugees from France into Holland. Several hundred of these people came to the Cape and proved to be good colonists. General Joubert, the present Boer commander, is a descendant of these colonists. The life led by these pioneers of civilization was rough and wild, but had its own peculiar charm. Cattle breeding was found to pay fairly well; they enjoyed good health and perfect freedom. The children of Dutch gardeners, German mechanics, and Huguenot tradesmen by force of circum-

stances reverted in habits and in thought to the condition of semi-civilization. In their migration from place to place, with their herds, the family slept in a great tent-wagon and passed the day in the open air, usually selecting a patch of trees on the bank of a stream for a camping-place. A distaste for town life, with its restraints and all the nameless annoyances to which simple people are exposed when in contact with men of sharper intellect, soon became part of the nature of a cattle-breeder, and grew stronger with each succeeding generation, which at last culminated in their hate and contempt for the Outlander, or foreigner.

In 1793 Western Europe was in the throes of the mightiest convulsion of modern times. France had become a republic, the people of the Netherlands were divided into two parties, one of which was in sympathy with the French, and the other favored William, Prince of Orange, and an alliance with England. A declaration of war with England and the Orange party was issued at Paris. The Prince escaped to England, and issued an order to the authorities at Cape Town to admit English troops into the castle and forts. Admiral Elphinstone and Major-General Craig, who were in command of the sea and land forces, presented the mandate to the Governor and Council.

Ceded to Great Britain.

The colony capitulated on Jan. 10, 1806. The British occupation was made permanent by a Convention, signed in 1814, between Great Britain and the Netherlands, by the terms of which England paid thirty million dollars for the cession of the Cape Colony and of the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, which now form the colony of British Guiana.

It was hoped that the Dutch and the English in the Cape Colony would live together in friendly intercourse, and that eventually, by intermarriage, a fusion of the two races would be effected. This hope was doomed to disappointment, for an antagonism gradually developed between the old and the new colonists which led to the establishment of two republics beyond the border of the Colony. The first step toward the formation of these republics was the emigration during 1836 and 1837 of about eight thousand Dutch farmers from the Cape Colony — a movement which is generally referred to as the Great Trek. These men went out of the Colony and established themselves in the vast hinterland.

Emancipation of the Slaves.

The principal cause that led to the Great Trek was the passage of the Emancipation Act in May, 1833, when it was enacted

that on and after the first of August, 1834, all slaves should be free throughout the British dominion. A compensation of \$100,000,000 was granted to the slave-holders, the grandest and noblest act done by any nation in the history of the world.

The number of slaves freed here at this time was about 40,000, mostly in the hands of the Dutch. The value of these slaves was three million pounds sterling, but the Imperial Government awarded only a million and a quarter as compensation. In this respect the Dutch slaveholders were no worse off than the West Indian slaveholders, but they undoubtedly had a grievance in the fact that the compensation was made payable in London. George McCall Theal, the historian of South Africa, says: "It is not easy to bring home to the mind the widespread misery that was occasioned by the confiscation of two millions' worth of property in a small and poor community like that of the Cape in 1835. There were to be seen families reduced from affluence to want, widows and orphans made destitute, poverty and anxiety brought into the hundreds of homes."

Slagter's Neck Affair.

Another important cause of discontent lay in the policy of protection of native interests, which was vigorously enforced by the British authorities. As early as 1815 the ill-treatment of the natives by the Dutch produced great friction. In that year a complaint was laid before a magistrate against one Frederik Bezuidenhout, for assault on a native servant. A summons to appear was disregarded, and a warrant was issued for the man's arrest. Every effort was made to effect the arrest peaceably; but the man surrounded himself with a band of his friends, and fired on the party detailed to make the arrest. A fight ensued in which Bezuidenhout was killed and thirty-nine of his comrades were arrested. They were tried by jury before the High Court, and five of them were condemned to death. This affair is constantly recited by the Boers at public meetings in order to inflame the people against the English, and is known as the Slagter's Neck massacre. An entirely new light is thrown on the matter by Canon Knox Little in his "Sketches and Studies in South Africa." He asserts that the Dutch Field Cornet, under whose immediate orders the execution was carried out, had in his pocket, at the time of the execution, the Governor's order for the pardon of the prisoners; that he suppressed it from motives of personal spite; and that afterwards, fearing detection, he committed suicide.

In 1835 the Boers shook the dust of Cape Colony from their feet and trekked northwards. They issued a manifesto de-

nouncing the "vexatious laws" passed in the interests of the slaves, and complaining of the losses thereby inflicted on the Boers. They also cried out against "the continual system of plunder which we have endured from the Kaffirs and other colored classes," and the "unjustifiable odium" cast on them by "interested and dishonest persons under the cloak of religion" (*i.e.*, the missionaries). The last clause read thus: "We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without interference in the future."

They moved up to Natal, and fought, and finally conquered, the natives. They set up a republic, but in a few years they had so incensed the natives that the peace of the Cape was menaced, and the British Government had to intervene.

In 1843 a short struggle resulted in the defeat of the Boers, and Natal was annexed by Great Britain on May 12, 1843, "for the peace, protection, and salutary control of all classes of men settled at and surrounding this important portion of South Africa."

For similar reasons the country lying between the Orange and Vaal rivers immediately below the present Transvaal Republic, which had been seized by the Boers, was also taken possession of by the British in 1848. There was a stout resistance, but it was subdued, and the country was re-annexed to Great Britain under the title of the Orange River Sovereignty.

The Sand River Convention.

In 1852 the Little England policy being in the ascendant at home, the government of the day, sick of the duty of protecting the natives, decided on a policy of scuttle. The British authority theoretically extended up to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, which included the territory north of the Vaal, of which another division of the Boers had taken forcible possession, driving the natives before them and parcelling out the land into farms. Under an agreement known as the Sand River Convention, Great Britain formally renounced all rights over the Transvaal. The raiding of the natives and the seizure of their children as slaves, led, however, to the following article being embodied in the Convention: "It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal river by the emigrant farmers."

In 1854, by another Convention, Great Britain relinquished authority over the Orange River Sovereignty, which is now known as the Orange Free State, and owes so much of its prosperity to the wise administration of the late Sir Henry Brand.

One of the first uses the Boers of the Transvaal made of their independence was to get rid of the missionaries, who preached pestilent doctrines of equality. Dr. Livingstone states, in his "Missionary Travels," that it was the attempt to drive him out which brought him to a determination to make his famous journey across Africa. The missionaries were constant witnesses of the capture of native children by Boer commandos and angered the Boers by their protests.

Revolt of the Natives and Collapse of the Republic.

In 1860 Paul Kruger makes his first appearance as a leader at the head of a troop against the Acting President (one Schoeman) in one of the numerous faction fights that occurred between the rival candidates for power. These and the incessant raids on the natives kept the Republic in a state of constant turmoil. The Boers refused to pay their taxes, and the finances fell into a serious condition. The truth was the Republic had no sort of control over its scattered and arrogant flock. The Boer farmers hunted the natives, whom they called "black ivory," burned their kraals, appropriated their best land, and carried off their children to work on Boer farms, notwithstanding the slavery clause of the Sand River Convention.

In 1871, after a long tussle between rival leaders, Mr. Burgers was appointed President. He was in some respects an able and conscientious man, but he was powerless to establish discipline over an ignorant and lawless race, and it was in his time that the worst crisis came. He obtained a loan from the Cape to replenish the empty exchequer; he endeavored to establish a system of education; and he spent his private fortune in an abortive attempt to construct a railway to Delagoa Bay. But while Burgers was striving to civilize his barbarians they were carrying on with greater vigor than ever their favorite sport of plundering the native tribes. The successive maps of the Transvaal show how the State was expanded by these means — how little by little the boundaries were extended by force, fraud, or fair means, at the expense of the less warlike of the tribes. A sudden check, however, came from the powerful chief Secocoeni, who became the champion of a section of the long-suffering Bechuanas, upon a large slice of whose territory the Boers had cast covetous eyes. After some preliminary successes, in which they had used a friendly tribe as cat's-paws, the Boers assailed Secocoeni in his stronghold. They were driven back with great loss, and they fled ignominiously.

England Saves the Boers from Cetewayo by Annexation.

The result of this reverse was to throw all the native tribes who had suffered from Boer oppression into a fever of warlike excitement. For the first time they saw a chance of settling accounts. The borders of the Transvaal and Natal seethed with native ardor for revenge, and at the Natal angle Cetewayo stood forth at the head of his savage and blood-thirsty impis panting to take the lead in "eating up" the white tyrants. The prospect was dark for the Boers. They cowered under the danger. But it was just as grave for the British territories. A general native rising would involve Natal and probably Cape Colony in danger.

The Government anxiously considered the situation, and resolved to send out Sir Theophilus Shepstone with power to examine the position on the spot, and, if he deemed it necessary, to formally annex the country and march in a British garrison. He was accompanied by twenty-five mounted police, the only force he had within a month's march of him during the whole period of his stay, and at the time he issued the proclamation annexing the country. To assert that the Transvaal was forcibly annexed is, in the face of these facts, absurd. It is certain that a large proportion of the Boers themselves desired this measure, if only as a means of escape. Sir Theophilus Shepstone reported to Lord Carnarvon that he received memorials signed by 2,500 Boers out of a total adult male population of 8,000 :

"It was patent to every observer that the Government was powerless to control either its white citizens or its native subjects ; that it was incapable of enforcing its laws or of collecting its taxes ; and the Treasury was empty . . . that sums payable for the ordinary and necessary expenditure of government cannot be had . . . and that the powerful Zulu king, Cetewayo, is anxious to seize upon the first opportunity of attacking a country the conduct of whose warriors at Sekkukuni's Mountain has convinced him that it can be easily conquered by his clamoring regiments."

He added that the President himself was "persuaded that under the present system of government the independence of the State could not be maintained."

"I am convinced," wrote Sir A. Cunynghame, June 12, 1877, from Pretoria, "that had this country not been annexed it would have been ravaged by native tribes. Forty square miles of the country had been overrun by the natives and every house burned just before annexation." And he wrote again July 6 : "Every day convinces me that unless this country had been annexed it would have been a prey to plunder and rapine of the natives on

its border, joined by Secocoeni, Makok, and other tribes of the Transvaal. Feeling the influence of the British Government, they are now tranquil." Sir T. Shepstone also wrote concerning the reality of the danger. Under date December 25 he says: "The Boers are still flying, and I think by this time there must be a belt a hundred miles long and thirty broad in which with three insignificant exceptions there is nothing but absolute desolation. This will give your Excellency some idea of the mischief which Cetewayo's conduct has caused."

These were briefly the circumstances under which Sir Theophilus Shepstone acted upon the instructions given to him and proclaimed the restoration of British authority in the Transvaal. It was not done until the Volksraad had been convened and declined the President's appeal to it to confer power on the Executive to carry out an alternative scheme. The proclamation was therefore made on April 12, 1877.

So much for the annexation which we are told was such a monstrous blot upon the honor of Lord Beaconsfield's Government that England was bound to undo it three years later. Parliament received the intelligence with tranquillity, and even with satisfaction, and scarcely a protest was heard among responsible politicians.

The effect of annexation was an era of prosperity. The country's debts were paid, and the wells of plenty bubbled with British gold. In the Zulu War that followed the power of the Zulus had been broken, for they were a menace to the Transvaal. It, however, cost the British Government dearly in men and money. It was in this war that the Prince Imperial of France lost his life. It is noteworthy that with the splendid exception of the lion-hearted Piet Uys and his son, who died, — father and one son in the Zulu war side by side with the Britishers, whom he keenly opposed on the annexation question, — none of the Boers came forward to help in the Secocoeni or Zulu wars, although these wars were undertaken on their account.

"British Territory as Long as the Sun Shone."

Very little was heard from the Boers in the way of protest against the new order of things until they saw that the Zulu power, which had so terrified them, had been finally broken by the British army. That was done in the early part of 1879, and then they began to pose as martyrs and to agitate for the retrocession of the country. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed High Commissioner, and went straight from Zululand to the Transvaal in September, 1879. He at once began to destroy any illusion

which the Boers might have about retrocession. On his way up he made the emphatic statement at a public dinner at Wakkers-troom that the Transvaal would remain British territory "as long as the sun shone." A few days later, finding two of the Boer leaders inquiring for a reply to a memorial on the subject, Sir Garnet issued a formal proclamation, of which the following was the essential clause :

"Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and make known, in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, that it is the will and determination of Her Majesty's Government that this Transvaal territory shall be, and shall continue to be *forever*, an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa."

Alas ! the Boers knew Mr. Gladstone better than Sir Garnet Wolseley. But what was the effect of these out-and-out assurances on English traders in South Africa? Secure in the pledged word of the representative of the Queen and the Government, they flocked into the Transvaal by hundreds, invested their money in its industries and trade, and prepared to settle down with their families. How much consideration they got for their faith in British statesmen we shall see later on.

Mr. Gladstone's Incitements to Revolt and their Effects.

As we have said, these formal, precise, and emphatic declarations by Sir Garnet Wolseley were made in the autumn of 1879. What followed? Within a couple of months—in November, 1879—Mr. Gladstone went down to Mid-Lothian. It was his first "pilgrimage of passion" against Lord Beaconsfield, and he made the annexation of the Transvaal one of the chief counts in his indictment, although neither he nor any other leading Liberal had made any distinct complaint before. Let it be borne in mind that it was just at this moment that the defeat of Cetewayo and the pacification of the country were stimulating the Boers to agitation for the retrocession. England had established security and order and a healthy finance, and then Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, Joubert & Co. said: "Lo! the enemy hath done all our dirty work. He has settled our accounts with Cetewayo and Secocoeni, and paid our bills. Come, let us reassert our claim to independence." At such a moment what an ally was Mr. Gladstone! What was the value of Sir Garnet Wolseley's stern refusals if Mr. Gladstone two months afterwards was found treating the annexation as an outrage and a matter for review? This was Mr. Gladstone's mischievous reference to the Transvaal:

"What is the meaning of adding places like Cyprus and places like the country of the Boers in South Africa to the British Em-

pire ? And, moreover, I would say this : that if those acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they are obtained by means dishonorable to the character of our country."

The blind folly of speeches like this at such a moment is almost appalling, especially when we see, as we shall directly, that Mr. Gladstone never intended to give back the country. Mr. Gladstone's speeches were received with enthusiasm in the Transvaal. They were distributed among the Boers by the Dutch papers on small slips. On March 18, 1880, at a meeting of the Boer Committee, held on a farm near Wonderfontein, a letter was drawn up thanking Mr. Gladstone for his sympathy. A week later the British Parliament was dissolved. The friend of the Boers was returned to power with a large majority. The Boers were elated beyond all precedent. They almost saw themselves in possession again and Sir Garnet Wolseley in disgrace.

Mr. Gladstone's Change of Front.

As soon as Mr. Gladstone had become Prime Minister, Messrs. Kruger and Joubert wrote to him (May 10), recalling his speeches and formally calling upon him to annul the annexation. But Mr. Gladstone in opposition and Mr. Gladstone in office were two different persons. Before the letter arrived the new Government had laid down their policy with respect to the Transvaal. In the Queen's Speech on the 20th May occurred this passage :

"In maintaining my supremacy over the Transvaal, with its diversified population, I desire both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on large and liberal principles of self-government."

Mr. Gladstone defended this change of front by saying that "it is quite possible to accept the consequences of a policy and yet to retain the original difference of opinion with regard to the character of that policy." But there was no "original difference of opinion." In 1877 the House of Commons indorsed the annexation without any show of hostility. Mr. Leonard Courtney, then, as now, almost the only English champion of the Boers, rose and made a bitterly sarcastic speech on Mr. Gladstone's desertion. Analyzing the Premier's fine-spun distinctions, he said : "The Boers would not be able to understand all that. They were too simple. . . . They would ask why their wrongs, which were made so much of a few weeks ago, were not even recognized now."

The decision of the Government was communicated to South

Africa by telegram, as follows: "*Under no circumstances can the Queen's authority in the Transvaal be relinquished.*"

Now came the delicate matter of Mr. Gladstone's reply to the letter of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert. It was written in his best style of political casuistry. The substance of it is here:

"It is undoubtedly matter for much regret that it should, since the annexation, have appeared that so large a number of the population of Dutch origin in the Transvaal are opposed to the annexation of that territory; but it is impossible to consider that question as if it were presented for the first time. We have to deal with a state of things which has existed for a considerable period, *during which obligations have been contracted, especially, though not exclusively, towards the native population, which cannot be set aside.*

"Looking to all the circumstances, both of the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa, and to the necessity of preventing a renewal of disorders which might lead to disastrous consequences, not only to the Transvaal, but to the whole of South Africa, our judgment is that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal."

Exasperation and Revolt of the Boers.

This reply naturally astonished and exasperated the Boers. They respected the firm and resolute attitude of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. They were disgusted by the in-and-out tactics of the leader of the Liberal party, and set it down to infirmity of purpose. It gave them the idea that though England under Beaconsfield was unshakable, England under Gladstone might be made to do anything. All over the country a simmer of violence broke out. In the course of a month or two it manifested itself in a determination to refuse to pay taxes. Towards the end of the year this became an organized policy. The British authorities selected a case for enforcement at Potchefstroom. This rallied the Boers to a focus. A mass meeting was held at Paarde Kraal. It lasted from December 8 to 13, and resulted in a determination to rise in arms. A triumvirate, consisting of Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius, was appointed to administer the government; three commandos were organized and despatched to take possession of various towns, and on December 16 the flag of revolt was hoisted. One of the commandos succeeded in intercepting a detachment of the ninety-fourth Regiment at a spot known as Bronker's Spruit. The first intimation our troops received of what was afoot was a storm of bullets. Then Colonel Anstruther was summoned to surrender. He refused, and then there followed a terrific onslaught, almost amounting to a massacre.

The Decimation of the British Forces.

On January 28 Sir George Colley was repulsed in his attempt to storm Laing's Nek, a narrow and steep pass across the Drakensburg Mountains, which separate the Transvaal from Natal. He had only 1,000 men, while the Boers were strongly posted with about 4,000, all picked shots. Colley was urged to wait for reënforcements, but he thought the garrisons needed help, and pushed madly on. A still more miserable exhibition of rashness was the next engagement on the Ingogo river, where our troops were caught in the open, and riddled by the Boers from the rock cover. Under cover of night Colley crept back and so escaped annihilation. His small British force was now reënforced by some troops under the command of Sir Evelyn Wood, whom he sent back to Natal, intending to make a bold and rapid effort to retrieve his disasters. This took the form of the wild climb up Majuba Hill, a mountain 6,000 feet high and 3,000 feet above the camp level. What his idea was in gaining this worthless position will never be known, but if he thought he would be at least secure he proved to be fatally wrong. The Boers were plainly startled to find him there. It is almost a fortress in itself, owing to its steep and rugged slopes, but the Boers knew it better than anybody, and being strongly reënforced, made the famous rush that overwhelmed General Colley. They made their attack on three sides, and so dispersed the attention of the British force.

Mr. Gladstone's Surrender of the Queen's Authority.

Majuba was fought and lost on February 27. But two or three weeks prior to that, and soon after Laing's Nek, the wires were carrying messages designed to stop the vindication of the Queen's authority. President Brand, of the Orange Free State, began the overtures, and the Government offered a settlement on the Boers ceasing armed opposition. That message arrived while Ingogo was in progress, on February 8. On the 13th General Colley received a cool communication from Kruger requiring a cancellation of the annexation, and offering thereupon to allow the British troops to retire. Lord Kimberley telegraphed on the 16th offering to submit a scheme to a Royal Commission on the Boers laying down their arms; then no progress was made till the Majuba disaster brought Mr. Gladstone to his knees. He did so far respond to public feeling as to allow Sir Frederick Roberts to be sent out from England with large reënforcements, but while they were on the sea he took care their services should

not be required. An armistice was arranged, and Sir Evelyn Wood was instructed on March 12 to promise complete internal self-government under British suzerainty. These were the terms the Boers accepted and signed at O'Neill's Farm, under the shadow of Majuba, on March 28. They had won all their battles, and they had achieved the full aims with which they revolted.

Mr. Gladstone is dead, and I harbor no kind of personal disrespect towards his memory; as a philanthropist he may have been a great and good man, but as a statesman he has cost his country more than any other man in his generation. He left Gordon to his fate, and it has taken ten years to reconquer the Soudan and has cost Britain thousands of lives and millions of money. His scuttling out of the Transvaal has been the cause of the present war. If he had not been defeated in his Irish Home Rule scheme it probably would have disrupted the Empire, for, as John Bright said to him, I see no difference between disunion in the United States and disunion in the United Kingdom.

The Pretoria Convention of 1881 and 1884.

The formal instrument restoring the Transvaal to the Boers was the Pretoria Convention, signed and published on Aug. 3, 1881. The articles of this Convention were amended and altered by the London Convention of Feb. 27, 1884. The Convention of 1881 consisted of a Preamble and a number of Articles. The Preamble grants self-government to the inhabitants of the Transvaal in these words: "Complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, upon certain terms and conditions, and subject to certain reservations and limitations."

As there can be no question as to the assertion of the suzerainty in the Convention of 1881, there remains only one point to be dealt with—whether the suzerainty persists in the Convention of 1884.

Any doubt as to the existence of the suzerainty would at once be removed by an examination of the circumstances under which the Convention of 1884 was signed. The Transvaal delegates requested the British Government to do away with the suzerainty by making the proposed Convention a treaty between two powers. This the Government refused to do on the ground that the Transvaal was not in fact an independent power, nor was it intended that it should be represented as such. So the issue was definitely raised before the Convention was signed,

and the Transvaal delegates signed the Convention knowing the feelings of Her Majesty's Government on the matter.

The South African Republic presented the curious anomaly of the largest body in the State, the Kaffirs, being deprived by conquest of all rights, the Boers regarding the negro as not belonging to the human race, and is having no soul.

The Outlanders, comprising the wealth, the education, and knowledge of affairs of the white population, of having been excluded by law from the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship, while a small minority, possessing neither education nor wealth, nor knowledge of affairs, claims a divine right to govern all others.

From the date of the signing of the London Convention has gradually been accumulating that mass of grievances of British subjects in the Transvaal which forms the backbone of the present difficulties between Great Britain and the South African Republic.

The Grievances of the Outlanders.

The question is often asked why the Uitlanders went to the Transvaal if the laws were unsatisfactory. The answer is that they were invited to go by the Boer Government, and notably by Mr. Kruger himself; and that when they immigrated the existing laws were very favorable to the Uitlanders. It was only after their capital and labor had rescued the Transvaal from imminent bankruptcy that the liberal laws were superseded by the present adverse laws.¹

In 1884 Paul Kruger was in London. He was so poor that he could not pay his hotel bill and it was paid for him by a generous Englishman. He then expressly and publicly invited Englishmen and Americans to settle in the Transvaal and to conduct mining there.

Mr. Kruger afterward sold one of his own farms to Englishmen for \$500,000, paid in gold. His friends and neighbors sold other farms at even greater prices, receiving altogether, from foreign settlers (principally English, although including a considerable number of Germans, Frenchmen, and Americans), many millions of dollars.

These foreign settlers produce every dollar's worth of wealth which can be exported from the Transvaal, and every dollar in excess of what will suffice for a very bare existence to the old

¹ Those who desire to find chapter and verse, as authority for the statements contained in the following grievances of the Outlanders, can do so by reading two books, Fitzpatrick's "Transvaal," written by an Irishman, on the anti-Boer side, and "Oom Paul's People," written by Howard C. Hillegas, exclusively in favor of the Boers and avowedly suppressing all statement of any wrongful acts done by the Boers; nevertheless, the worst points against the Boers will be found in Mr. Hillegas' book.

residents. Every dollar of the wealth now possessed by Mr. Kruger, his sons-in-law, his officials, and indeed any part of the Transvaal population, has been produced by these settlers.

The taxes levied annually in the Transvaal have exceeded \$20,000,000. Nine-tenths of this amount have been collected from the foreign settlers whom Mr. Kruger invited into the country.

No appreciable part of these taxes is expended for the benefit of the foreign settlers. If this sum were equally divided among all the Boers it would furnish an annual income of about \$2,000 for each family, which would pay three times over all their living expenses.

No such equal division is made, but half these taxes have been spent in making preparation for war, and the other half devoted to the payment of enormous salaries to and jobs for Mr. Kruger, his sons-in-law, friends, and political supporters. Mr. Kruger himself has avowedly received \$35,000 a year salary, while on repeated occasions sums of \$15,000 and \$25,000 have been paid out of taxes for his direct and exclusive benefit, as appears by public records. How much more has been spent without public record can only be gussed. His son-in-law and private secretary possesses (so says Mr. Hillegas) a single house costing \$259,000, and rolls in wealth besides, as he must, to support such a house.

The official records in a Transvaal lawsuit, arising upon a quarrel between two sets of Boer plunderers, show that every Boer official worth bribing, including Kruger's son-in-law, received bribes from a Boer railroad company. The amount of each bribe was set forth in a bill of particulars filed in open court. Not one of these men ever denied the receipt of these bribes.

The foreign settlers, exclusively, built Johannesburg — a fine town, with 50,000 inhabitants. They were not merely denied any right to govern that city; they were denied any municipal government whatever. This is proved, not only by the explicit statements of Mr. Hillegas, the American representative of the Boers, but also by a proclamation of Paul Kruger himself dated in January, 1896. Mr. Kruger states that not \$5 could be expended in repairing a road or a bridge without first receiving express authority from Pretoria.

As a consequence of this total lack of good government, the death rate in Johannesburg has been constantly three or four times as great as even in New York. There is no use in comparing it with ordinary mining camps, because Johannesburg is a fine city, built by intelligent and educated men.

The foreign settlers in the Transvaal were denied the right to bear any arms, while every male Boer, from sixteen years old upwards, is heavily armed and drilled, at the expense of the foreigners.

By a press law, passed for the avowed object of crushing the foreign settlers, all newspapers were placed at the mercy of President Kruger, who can suppress them at his pleasure.

By another law, passed for the same purpose, all meetings of more than seven persons in the open air are absolutely prohibited, while all other meetings can be dissolved in an instant, at the discretion of any policeman.

Another law was passed, absolutely prohibiting the presentation by any foreigner of even so much as a petition for redress.

When Mr. Kruger invited foreigners to settle in the Transvaal full naturalization could be obtained within two years. After foreigners had accepted his invitation he repealed all naturalization laws, absolutely. Then, under pressure, he restored the laws, but made the term fourteen years; but any foreigner desiring naturalization must renounce all protection, even from his own Government or the Boer Government, for fourteen years, during which time he would be a citizen of no country whatever, and have no rights which any Boer would be bound to respect. During these fourteen years he must be ready to serve in the Boer army on twelve hours' notice, and he would be frequently called upon to serve, without pay, clothing, or even food, which he must provide for himself. At the end of these fourteen years of degrading humiliation he would not be allowed to vote for any office worth voting for, unless his humble petition was approved by two-thirds of his Boer neighbors, by the military chief of his district, and finally by Mr. Kruger himself. Neither would he be allowed to vote, even then, unless he were forty years of age.

While nearly two-thirds of all persons residing in the Transvaal spoke only the English language, and less than one-third either spoke or could understand the barbarous Boer Dutch, the Boers insisted that all English-speaking children must take their education exclusively in Dutch.

President Kruger resisted the introduction of railroads for years in order to compel the miners to hire his private ox teams at enormous prices. When finally he did permit railways to be built he granted the privilege exclusively to persons who would agree to give to his relatives a big share of the profits. He granted monopolies of several indispensable articles of supply to the mines, with the result of doubling the price at which they could otherwise have been obtained.

No Roman Catholic or Jew can become naturalized or hold

office in the Transvaal, for Law No. 3 of 1894 distinctly provides that the naturalized citizen, before being admitted to full burgher rights, shall first have been qualified to sit in the second Volksraad, one of the conditions of which is that he must be 30 years of age and a member of the Protestant church. It is also hedged about by other provisions, which we need not here specify. Several times last summer the Raad was asked to remove these disabilities from Catholics and Jews, and it refused to do so.

The whole Transvaal Government was corrupt from top to bottom. No business could be done with them without bribing the President's sons-in-law and hangers-on.

Attempt at Revolution.

In 1895 a petition praying for redress, signed by thirty-eight thousand Uitlanders, was presented to the Volksraad, and was rejected with insult and ridicule, one member saying that if the Uitlanders wanted any rights they had better fight for them. Many years before, the late Mr. W. Y. Campbell, as spokesman of a deputation from Johannesburg, addressing President Kruger, stated in the course of his remarks that the people of Johannesburg "protested" against a certain measure. The President jumped up in one of his characteristic moods and said: "Protest! protest! What is the good of protesting? *You have not got the guns!* I have." And Mr. Campbell, in repeating this in Johannesburg, said: "You can take my name off any other deputation, for we'll get nothing for asking." It was such brutal sayings as this that led to the attempt at revolution by the Outlanders. On Dec. 26, 1895, a manifesto was issued by the Transvaal National Union, in which the demands of the Outlanders were stated. The principal demands were: The establishment of the Republic as a true republic; a constitution framed by the representatives of the whole people, which should be safeguarded against hasty alteration; an equitable franchise law; and the independence of the courts of justice.

Having remonstrated for many years in vain, and having received frequent promises of reform, which were never kept and were never meant to be kept, a number of foreign residents, including more Americans, in proportion to their total number, than of any other nationality except British, conspired together to compel these reforms to be granted, by force of arms. They collected rifles, gunpowder, etc., but never made any use of them and never committed any overt act, for, owing to misunderstandings, Dr. Jameson, of the British South Africa Company, who with a body of men was on the frontier ready to give aid if fighting were

resorted to, entered the Transvaal with his force before the time appointed, and thus entirely destroyed the plans of the National Union. The story of the Jameson raid is too long to enter into ; but it may be remarked that every effort was made by the High Commissioner and by Cecil Rhodes to recall Jameson before he met the Boers ; that the raid was promptly condemned by the British authorities ; and that Dr. Jameson and his officers were subsequently tried, convicted, and imprisoned by a British court of justice, for violation of the Foreign Enlistments Act.

Compare this with the punishment meted out by the United States against the Fenians captured on their return from the invasion of Canada in 1866. Or the annexation of Texas after our citizens had gone in and dispossessed the Mexicans, and lately also the annexation of Hawaii after a little handful of American capitalists had seized the control of that former island kingdom. We have done with the general national approval more than once what we have accused England of doing in the Transvaal.

Punishment of the Revolutionists.

The conspiracy being discovered before the conspirators carried it out, sixty of them, including six Americans, were arrested, cast into an indescribably filthy jail, and informed that unless they pleaded guilty they would be all hanged, but that if they did plead guilty they would be let off with fines.

Being brought into court, they were charged with an offence which by the express statute law of Boerdom was punishable with nothing more than a short term of imprisonment. Being assured by the Boer prosecuting officers that they would receive no greater sentence than this, and would be allowed to escape with fines, if they pleaded guilty, they did so plead ; although, as to many of them, the offence could never have been legally proved.

No judge then on the bench being quite unscrupulous enough to serve Mr. Kruger's turn, he imported an utterly unscrupulous judge named Gregorowski. This judge publicly stated that he came for the express purpose of making it hot for the Outlanders. After the prisoners had all pleaded guilty this judge announced that, as to the four leaders, he should not sentence them under the statute law, but would resort to the unwritten law of the Transvaal, which prescribed death for such an offence. Accordingly he sentenced these four (one of whom was a distinguished American, and probably the ablest mining engineer in the world) to death, and all the others to various terms of imprisonment and heavy fines. Their offences were such as could not have been punished in the United States by more than a short term of im-

prisonment or fines not exceeding \$1,000. They neither planned nor desired to become a British colony.

Even the Dutch settlers of South Africa being horrified at this sentence, and pouring by hundreds into Pretoria to remonstrate against it, Mr. Kruger graciously took the matter into consideration, but announced that his religious scruples forbade that he should commute the death sentence into fines, because such fines would be "the price of blood," and his reverence for his dear Lord forbade that he should be less scrupulous than the priests of Jerusalem.

The pious Boers therefore informed the prisoners that they could not be released on the payment of any fines, but that if the prisoners would of their own accord offer to "subscribe for charities" sums varying from \$25,000 to \$100,000 each, for the leading men, and not less than \$10,000 for anybody, the merciful President might be induced to pardon them, without any fines or imprisonment.

Both the British and the American Governments being at that time too chicken-hearted to intervene in these proceedings, this offer had to be accepted. The American citizens all made heavy contributions to "charity," Mr. John Hays Hammond paying \$100,000. No such penalties were ever exacted in the whole history of the United States, nor during the last century, in any other civilized country.

These "charitable contributions," amounting to about \$1,000,000 in all, were duly paid over to his Highness Paul Kruger or his son-in-law. It is needless to say that the "charities" have never turned up, although four years have now elapsed since the \$1,000,000 was safely deposited under the control of the pious Paul Kruger.

Both the British and the American Governments meekly submitted to these outrages upon their citizens—more shame for them both! No wonder that Kruger described both Englishmen and Americans as "dogs, who, if they were good, would lick his boots."

The advocates of the Boers in this country assert that these acts have occurred only since the Jameson raid of December, 1895. In this there is not one word of truth, except, of course, as to the trial and sentences of the Outlanders. All the other acts of oppression above narrated, and many, many more, were committed and persisted in before the Jameson raid occurred or was ever thought of. In fact, the condition of the Outlanders has been distinctly better since the Jameson raid occurred. Although the raiders were defeated and captured, Mr. Kruger was not

thereafter quite so confident that the Outlanders would never fight as he had been before. After that raid, and not before, he permitted Johannesburg to have some kind of local government, insisting, of course, that this government should be absolutely under the control of his own creatures. Still, it was much better to have a local government of his nomination than to have none at all.

The Outlanders Petition the Queen.

At length, on March 24, 1899, a petition signed by 21,648 Uitlanders was forwarded by the High Commissioner to Her Majesty, praying that she would intervene to secure just treatment for the Uitlanders.

After some correspondence between the two governments, and a friendly suggestion from the President of the Orange Free State, a conference was arranged between Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner of South Africa, and President Kruger. The conference took place at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and lasted from May 31 to June 5.

Sir Alfred Milner then proposed that the franchise should be granted to every white man who had been five years in the country, and was prepared to take oath to obey the laws, to undertake all the obligations of citizenship, and to defend the independence of the country; it being understood that by taking such an oath he renounced his citizenship of any other country. A property qualification and good character were to be conditions. The assertion has been frequently made that Sir Alfred Milner wished to secure the citizenship of the Transvaal for British subjects under conditions which would still allow them to remain British subjects; but there is no foundation for this statement.

In reply to this proposal, President Kruger urged that the Uitlanders did not want the franchise, and would not take it on any terms; and also, that if he granted Sir Alfred Milner's request the country would be controlled by foreigners, and all power taken from the old burghers,—propositions which are mutually destructive. But on the third day of the conference President Kruger himself presented a new franchise proposal. This was passed by the Volksraad at once, before the British authorities had any time to examine it. After it was published it appeared on its very face so full of intricacies that its effect as a measure of reform was a matter of serious doubt. Under its terms an alien could apparently secure the franchise in seven years, but the conditions were so complicated that to fulfill them was impossible. To give only one example: A man who desired the franchise

must first signify his intention in writing to the Field Cornet, the Landdrost, and the State Secretary. Two years later he might become naturalized (without receiving full burgher rights), provided he produced a certificate, signed by the Field Cornet, the Landdrost, and the Commandant of the district, to the effect that he had never broken any of the laws of the Republic. If these officials were not sufficiently well acquainted with the private life of the applicant to grant such a certificate, then a sworn statement to the same effect, signed by two-thirds of his neighbors, must be made; it is then handed to the State Attorney, who should return it with a legal opinion to the State Secretary. If the opinion were favorable the man might be granted the full franchise; if not, the matter was to be referred to the Executive Council.

In view of the opinion expressed by Sir Alfred Milner and prominent Uitlanders that on the face of it the law appeared almost unworkable, Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed, asking for the appointment of delegates from the Transvaal and from the British side to discuss the new law, to see if it would as a matter of fact effect the needed reforms. To Mr. Chamberlain's request for a joint inquiry the Transvaal Government sent a reply in which nothing was said about the joint inquiry, but in which a proposal was made for a new franchise law. The basis of the new proposal was a five years' retrospective franchise. The following conditions, which are taken verbatim from the Transvaal Government's official translation of its note, were attached: The proposals of this Government regarding questions of franchise and representation must be regarded as expressly conditional on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in paragraph 5 of that despatch; namely: (*a.*) In future not to interfere in internal affairs of the South African Republic. (*b.*) Not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty. (*c.*) To agree to arbitration. Further, it was explicitly stated by the State Attorney that these offers could only be understood to stand if England decided not to press her request for a joint inquiry into the political representation of the Uitlanders. There can be no doubt about this rejection of the joint inquiry, for the draft of the telegram in which the British agent conveyed the suggestions to Sir Alfred Milner was initialled by the State Attorney himself.

Declaration of War against Great Britain.

This was the ultimatum presented to Great Britain by the Transvaal, the non-acceptance of which produced the present war with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, who joined the latter in the declaration of war against Great Britain. The ulti-

matum contained also a peremptory demand for Great Britain to withdraw her troops from South Africa, and recall all those en route, and to give assurance that no more troops should be landed there. It was not likely that Great Britain should take this deliberate insult from President Kruger, and take a back seat among the nations of the world. England showed a great deal of patience and forbearance, and has resorted to all possible means of diplomacy during the past few years to avert war, for it was well known what the consequence would be.

In an address made in the House of Commons on May 8, 1896, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said: "A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a civil war. It would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war."

Those in authority at London have foreseen from the first that the work cut out for them to do was one of tremendous difficulty.

They were aware that for years past the Government of the South African Republic had been in the enjoyment of an immense revenue, and that it had spent this freely in the purchase of military supplies of all kinds. They were aware that, small as the population of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State might seem to be, the male population from sixteen to seventy years of age could be called upon to a man to take an active part in the struggle, and that these soldiers were many of them, through daily experience, the best equipped fighters that could be found.

Disloyalty of the Cape Dutch.

The half-hearted loyalty of the Cape Dutch led by President Schreiner also caused much concern in England, for there has been no question of the feeling of the Dutch. On that point an old South African resident said recently: "The stories of Dutch disaffection are in no way exaggerated. The Dutch are bitterly hostile to the imperial authority. They are a sullen, silent, secret people, who have been plotting for twenty or thirty years against the British. It has been the dream of the Afrikanders to turn the whole of South Africa into a Dutch republic, in which all of British nationality would be reduced to the position of political helots, like the Outlanders of the Transvaal." The only question has been whether matters of policy and awe of the British would not hold them in check. That seems to be in a fair way to be answered by the people themselves, for the burghers of the Cape appear to be sending their young men into the field, while the old men craftily stay at home with a pre-

tence of loyalty, designed to stave off confiscation of property in the event of British success.

The Future Existence of the Empire at Stake.

It will be asked, if this is the case, if the English Government was aware that it would have to sacrifice the lives of so many of its soldiers, and go to such an expense, why it did not make some satisfactory compromise. The reply to this would be that the Government realized that the future of the British Empire was weighing in the Boer balance. The Transvaal was a country over which England exercised, by treaty, suzerain powers. The Pretoria Convention and the subsequent London Convention gave to the English the right to live, travel, trade, and possess property in the Republic, and when the anomalous condition presented itself of a community, chiefly of Englishmen, living in the Transvaal, larger in numbers than the Boers themselves, but deprived, through the political instrumentality of the latter, of civil rights and social opportunities that are ordinarily accorded, while at the same time called upon to pay more than nine-tenths of all the taxes, — when these conditions were presented and an appeal made for aid to the Imperial Government, and that Government found itself helpless to secure results through peaceful measures, then it became a question whether in any part of the world the treaty rights of an Englishman would be worth anything if the Government failed to enforce them in this instance.

The British Empire rests, as the Roman Empire did, upon prerogatives of citizenship, and if the English Government is not willing to support these, no matter what the cost may be, then it only becomes a question of time, and that a relatively brief time, when the prestige of the Empire will suffer a fatal eclipse. The price to be paid in this instance may be a high one, but it is one which had to be paid.

The Commencement of the War.

It was, furthermore, recognized that the war would at the outset give advantages to the Boers. They have been quietly preparing for it for months past, and when the short term laid down in the ultimatum of President Kruger ended they were ready to send an overwhelming force across the border. Probably the relatively small English force that was opposed to them held its own quite as well as could have been expected. There was, naturally, great impatience among the English people at the seeming delay in beginning active and aggressive operations after a large force of English soldiers had been landed in South Africa. It was this

feeling that induced the British generals to advance against the impregnable Boer positions, and led to the late disastrous reverses to the British troops.

The preliminary stages of the war, those in which the Boers were at their best, have now practically come to an end. From this time forward there is to be hard, desperate fighting. It may be that England has fresh reverses to meet, for the Boers, operating upon interior lines, have, strategically considered, many advantages which the English do not possess, and they can, moreover, mass their troops at this point or that with a celerity which the English cannot hope to equal. But the final result is no more in doubt now than it was when the war was declared. Even if it requires the despatch of another, or still another force to South Africa equal to that which has been already sent, the sacrifice must be made. The imperial system of England is at stake, and she cannot afford on this question to lower her standard.

Foreign Intervention.

The suggestion has been made by several newspapers of continental Europe that the time is approaching when it may be necessary for one or more of the great powers to intervene in the war now going on in South Africa, for the purpose of putting an end to this exceedingly bloody contest. Unfortunately, this war is one which does not lend itself to this form of arrest. It partakes in certain features of the nature of a civil war, an effort on the part of a semi-independent State to throw off the political connections which bind it to another. In certain respects it resembles the contest carried on by the Federal Government against the Southern Confederacy, a contest in which, if interference had been attempted, we should have looked upon the power presuming to interfere as an enemy, and would have had no hesitancy in making such action the occasion for a declaration of war. The reason for such action on our part would not have been our desire to fight, or to needlessly prolong a struggle, but a keen realization that, if we did not carry the war to a thoroughly successful conclusion, it meant the dismemberment of the United States and the impairment of our standing in the world as a great, growing, and prosperous nation.

Great Britain is, however, now embarked in this contest, and for her own future standing as a nation must not only carry it to an end, but must end it in a way that leaves her unquestionably in entire control of the situation.

She cannot afford, any more than we could, to tolerate or permit of interference. The nation or nations that took it upon

themselves to thus act would need to be held by her as enemies, and to be proceeded against as such.

What the Success of the Boers would Mean to Great Britain.

The only outcome of intervention would be an enforced acknowledgment that the Boers were to be independent, and that they were to have the dominant power in South Africa, separating the British possessions at the Cape of Good Hope completely from those the English hold in central and northern Africa. This, so far as England is concerned, would be but the beginning of the end.

Following on such an enforced peace would be an uprising in India, artfully encouraged by Russian influences, and affording Russia an opportunity to come in as the apparent friend and sympathizer of the Indian people. Besides this, an inroad would be instantly made by covetous European nations upon Egypt and such other colonial possessions as England has which are not held by a self-governing people. With these latter, such, for example, as Canada and Australia, independence would probably prove necessary in order to avoid the complications which might follow the downfall of the imperial strength of Great Britain.

Against such an outcome the English are compelled to offer the most strenuous resistance, and unquestionably this is what they will do. So seriously would our trade interests all over the world suffer by a reversal which deprived Great Britain of the position she now holds that we could well afford not only to protest against such intervention, but to offer our assistance in preventing it. The downfall of England would not only mean to the United States the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars of annual trade, but it would mean the closing up, once and forever, of those opportunities for an enormous enlargement of our trade which at present appear so alluring and promising. Whatever may be our sentiments and prejudices, so far as our foreign trade is concerned, we are indissolubly bound up with the well-being of the United Kingdom and the development through all distant parts of the world of English trade policy. It would be greatly to our advantage if the war now going on could be brought to a prompt conclusion by the success of England. This may not be possible,—that is, it may drag on for months to come,—but it ought to be realized, particularly in this country, that it can have but one end, and hence the longer it is continued, the greater the waste of human life on both sides, with the more complete destruction of the Boers, whose bravery and military skill entitle them to a happier fate than that of dying in the last ditch.

Great Britain will not Tolerate any Interference.

There are, without doubt, many people in this country who are heartily in accord with Senator Mason's views on the war in South Africa, and such views are not unnatural. It should be remembered, however, that how legitimate soever private sympathy may be, a public expression of such sentiments by the legislative branch of the United States Government would be a grave breach of international courtesy and a disavowal of the strict neutrality which it has been announced this country would maintain.

With our army engaged in suppressing the Filipinos, and with Porto Rico in the process of benevolent assimilation, advice to Great Britain with respect to her treatment of the Boers comes with very bad grace. To assume to denounce Great Britain's action in South Africa would be a grave and uncalled-for bit of impertinence on our part. England would have had just as much right to find fault with our making war on Spain because Spain was a monarchy as we have to find fault with England for making war on the Transvaal because that country is a republic.

We went to war with Mexico fifty years ago to assist the Texas Outlanders in their war of independence against Mexico.

We went to war with Spain because she was harassing her own people.

Sam Adams said that taxation without representation was tyranny. The British are fighting that the Outlanders may have equal rights and equal representation, which is denied them by the Boers.

How Holland Lost Belgium.

History is repeating itself again. The Dutch are doing precisely the same thing in South Africa that they did in Belgium, and which lost them that country. The population of Belgium in 1830 was 4,000,000, that of Holland, 2,500,000. The debt of Belgium was 4,000,000 florins, that of Holland, 1,200,000,000 florins. Holland would not allow Belgium equal representation and obliged her to pay one-half of the debt, and would not allow the use of the French language in the courts, Government offices, and schools, Belgium being one-half French-speaking. The result was the Revolution of 1834, in which Holland lost Belgium. This is the same spirit that is shown by the Dutch in the Transvaal against the Outlanders.

Consequences of the Boer War.

With regard to the other and more probable issue of the war, — *i.e.*, that the English are victorious all along the line, that the

pretensions of the "Afrikander nation" are abated,—the first consequence in order of importance, though not in sequence of time, will be the federation of the South African States under the British flag. For at least three years after the conclusion of the war the Transvaal and the Orange Free State will probably be governed as an absolute crown colony under military occupation, with an elective sanitary, municipal, and educational system for Johannesburg and the Rand. The passions aroused by the present contest are too violent to be subdued until the Boers have experienced for a few years the effect of British justice and integrity in dealing with a brave but conquered people. After Pretoria and Johannesburg are occupied, and equal rights for all white men south of the Zambesi have been won by British arms, a period for healing will be necessary before constitutional government can be safely intrusted to an Outlander and Boer population, whose position will have become reversed after the destruction of the forts at Pretoria and the Rand and the disarmament of the Boer levies. British statesmen recognize that if the fight with the Boers is fought to a finish that Boers and British will be compelled to live side by side for all time, and that therefore the settlement must be one that is strictly just to the Dutch population.

The fundamental conditions, therefore, that will govern the permanent settlement of South Africa by the English Cabinet are, firstly, that British and Boers must live side by side; and secondly, that the disarmament of the Boer inhabitants of the two republics must be so complete and effective that there shall be no risk of rebellion after the retirement of the British troops.

Confederation of South Africa.

Confederation under the British flag will immensely simplify the political and economic problems of South Africa. Firstly, its foreign policy will become the policy of the British Empire. The new African Federation has as neighbors two foreign States, Portugal and Germany, and the extinction of the Boer diplomat, Dr. Leyds, and his mischievous activity in Lisbon and Berlin, will not be the smallest of the many benefits that will accrue to the world from the federation of the African States.

The federation of South Africa will settle many questions long outstanding, as well as bring others, now dormant, upon the stage of practical politics. Among the advantages of the open door in Africa will be the administrative economies that will follow the union of the various members of the African State. The removal of the customs control from five separate and competitive sys-

tems, and their concentration under one head, will lighten taxation, increase revenue, and improve trade, in which Americans will largely participate. Railway administration, under one board of control, honestly and skilfully conducted, will revolutionize the conditions under which commerce is now carried on, and the development of the country will receive a much-needed stimulus.

Development of the Country.

The absence of navigable rivers, and of mountains with a snow-line, renders the formation of an irrigation department in South Africa, on Anglo-Egyptian lines, highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary. The Transvaal has 22,000 farms, but imports most of the food consumed. Facilities for food production exist. Catchment areas abound throughout the Cape and the republics, where rainfall can be stored. The passing of a scab act, universal and compulsory, will bear fruit in the improved quality of merino wool and in the prosperity of the Dutch farming population. The establishment of regulations for dealing with phylloxera in the wine districts will effect a revolution in the manufacture and quality of the wine now grown at the Cape. The enactment of an excise law throughout South Africa will redeem the Cape Colony from the stigma of being the only civilized Government in the world that debauches its population by untaxed brandy and impoverishes it by dear bread. The appointment of one post-master-general for the whole of South Africa will add to domestic happiness and business prosperity. One system of internal defence against the blacks is a measure that has long been required in the interests of both races of white men.

Great Immigration and Prosperity.

These measures, while leaving to each member of the federation complete control over all matters not specifically entrusted to the federal executive, would be followed by such a period of prosperity that tens and even hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States, would find lucrative occupation and happy homes. The natural wealth of the Transvaal is not yet scratched. Coal and iron measures of the finest quality exist in close proximity to Johannesburg. After the seventy or eighty years of life for the gold mines, which is admitted by experts to be the probable limit of the present mines, the manufacturing potentialities of Southern Africa are almost boundless. The climate is magnificent, and when race politics are killed with the war, there is little reason to doubt that Cape Town will rival Melbourne in wealth and population.

Opinions of Prominent Clergymen.

Extracts from a sermon delivered by Minot J. Savage at the Church of the Messiah, New York, Dec. 22, 1899 :

“ First let me address myself for a moment to a certain natural feeling of irritation and hostility on the part of Americans as against the average Englishmen ; for it certainly does exist. I meet it everywhere. We look back and remember the great struggle of 1776 ; and we are apt to think that England is our hereditary foe, because of the strife, so bitter and so prolonged, at that time.

“ Was it England fighting America in such a sense that we ought to lay up any slightest feeling of enmity from that far-away time ? Did you ever think — if you have not, I beg to impress it upon you, so you will never forget it again — that the thing we fought for in 1776 was an outright gift to us on the part of England ? Did the Puritans, the Pilgrims, the Cavaliers, and their descendants, originate one single idea of liberty for which we fought against King George ? No. Englishmen originated them — every one. From the days of King John, the barons, and Magna Charta, down to the magnificent history of the men who stood for manhood rights against kingly prerogative, Cromwell, Milton, every one of them, fought and wrought out at the cost of their lives the liberty for which we fought in Boston, for which Washington gave his noblest and highest devotion. It was not a warfare between the colonists and England : Pitt and his compeers represented the heart of England. We fought kingly prerogative such as Cromwell fought. It was the last pretence of the divine right of kings in Lord North and George III. It was these things that were fighting liberty, not only in the colonies, but at home ; and every particle of liberty which we started with as a young nation, and which we have developed and enriched and enlarged, is the gift of magnificent England. Never forget that. But for England we should not have had these ideas of liberty that have been the glory of our own land.

“ England to-day has no single advantage over any other country on the face of the earth in any one of her colonies except that which is based on kinship and mutual consideration and the skill of England in the matters of trade. The ports of these colonies are as free to us, as free to France, as free to Russia, as free to Turkey, as they are to the mother-country itself.

“ What is the policy of England in India to-day ? The old rajahs, the petty kings, robbed the people, ground them down to the very last limit of the possibility of life. Why ? To build

palaces and monuments and expensive harems which they decorated and kept for their own pleasure. What has England done in India? She has not taken a dollar from India for her own behoof. The taxes of India are used in India and for the benefit of India; and it has been unspeakably blessed and benefited in every conceivable way by English occupation.

“I do not care what led England there in the first place. I have neither time nor inclination to raise the question, or try to answer it, as to what has taken England to any part of the globe; but I challenge contradiction to this statement: There is not a spot on earth to-day where England’s foot is placed that would not be unspeakably worse to-morrow if that foot were lifted and taken away. Not one step has England taken around the world that has not meant the uplift of humanity, finer and higher religion, education, industrial advance, opportunity for liberty, just as fast as the people were fit for it, — unspeakable blessing to all the people involved.

“Where, then, should our sympathies be? At the very outset, whatever the problem that comes up, should they not be with England?

“Let us now for a moment glance at the condition of things in South Africa. We are sometimes told that England is simply grabbing for new possessions there, for mines and money and power, as she has done in other parts of the world.

“I do not claim to know the ins and outs of the problems in South Africa, but I understand the situation to be something like this: The Boers had possession of this country, supposed to be simply an agricultural country; and they were leading the lives of farming people. It was discovered to be immensely rich in mines and wealth of every kind; and, naturally, people from all over the world flocked in there. Have the Boers a right to keep everybody else out — a right, if it be one, that no nation on the face of the earth ever conceded even if claimed? We made no such claim in regard to California or to any of our possessions. What is the result? Englishmen went in every day, until there were more Outlanders than there were Boers. And the Boer Government promised them certain rights and privileges which they did not concede. They made promises which they never kept. One of their rules was that an Englishman must be a resident fifteen years before he could vote. He might be taxed and harried and hampered the first year he is there. He must get out a paper, or a pass, — I think it is every six months, or very frequently, — before he can travel from one part of the country to another. In other words, he is hampered, harried,

and taxed at every turn, and has no voice whatever in the Government that claims thus to dominate and rule.

“Would we bear it? I trow not. Out of this condition of things has come the irritation that has burst forth into war. And naturally it seems to me, I believe inevitably; and I believe that at every point the English have been right. That is, every point of importance. I do not say there have not been individual wrongs, grievances, irritations. But the contention of England — the main contention — I believe to be righteous contention. And when England wins, as she will, it will mean not oppression to the Boers, not even the kind of oppression they have exercised over the English. It will mean liberty, education, enlightenment. It will mean every good thing for the people concerned, whether they be British or Boers.

“This is my view, the most intelligent one I have been able to gain of the English situation in South Africa.

“I believe, friends, that a disaster to England would be the greatest world calamity that could be conceived, next to the destruction of our own republic. England is fighting as against Russia in China — for what? For English advantages? No. For the advantage of civilization. She is fighting for open ports, for liberty. She is fighting to keep the Czar from absorbing China and for the sake of the world. She is not taking a single advantage in any Chinese port that is not open to us after her on the same terms, while she perhaps has paid the bills in blood and pounds for the achievement.

“I believe that, if worst came to worst, and there was a war between Russia and England in the East for the two world ideals which they represent, — I believe America would owe it as the highest duty to God and man to place every ship, every gun, every dollar she possessed, at the back of and beside England [applause], not for the advantage of America, not for the advantage of England, but for God and for man and duty. I will say nothing as to our debt to England for her silent but no less potent friendship a year ago. I speak of higher interests and of world-wide obligations.

“God forefend, God grant that there may be no meddling on the part of France or Russia until England settles the problem which she has on her hands to-day! But did I wield the power of this nation, and such meddling came, I would say, ‘Hands off!’ to any power on the globe.

“England and America are one at heart, one in religion, one in interest, one in ideals, one in hopes; and we must be one in either defeat or triumph.”

Letter from a Son of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, a well-known
Minister in South Africa.

“We are now paying the penalty of the huge blunder of 1881. We earnestly hope that this time the eyes of our friends in England have been opened, and they will see clearly that one of two things must be — either the whole country from Cape Town to the Zambesi must come under the British flag, or that flag must forever cease to be, in this southern land, the emblem of freedom, truth, and honor, and the guarantee for equal rights, liberty, and justice to all. We all owe a debt of everlasting gratitude to Sir Alfred Milner, whose keen insight and clear judgment so quickly enabled him to grasp the true facts of the situation, and whose strong will has enabled him to bring about now what would inevitably have come the moment England had become involved in any difficulty in some other quarter.

“For years it has been Paul Kruger’s dream that ‘the South African Republic’ (mark the significance of the name) should absorb the other States and colonies, and South Africa be the birthplace of the Afrikaner nation. The millions poured into his treasury brought him the means of furthering his object, and money has been lavishly spent on armaments on a scale to arm not only his own burghers, but every Dutchman in South Africa who could be seduced from his lawful allegiance and got to join in the ambitious schemes of this would-be dictator.

You will not wonder that the reading of the speeches in the papers now being received here, delivered a fortnight or three weeks ago by Liberal leaders like Sir William Harcourt and others, should make loyal colonists curse the very name of Liberal were the scale not more than turned by the utterances of other Liberals like Lord Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey. The Boers have translated and are circulating Sir William Harcourt’s speeches among the colonial Dutch in order to induce them to rebel against the Queen and join them.

“I have lived all my life in this colony, and have many friends amongst the colonial Dutch, many of whom have during the last two weeks come to me for advice as to what they should do if the Free State commandos came and commandeered them. I have been closely watching the course of events for years, and I fully indorse the opinion expressed by Theo. Schreiner, that this war was inevitable, and that the aims of Paul Kruger, Reitz, Steyn, and others were to oust the British flag, and establish an Afrikaner nation in South Africa. Thank God their hands have been forced and the struggle has been precipitated before it was too late.”

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